

timber, for the deer, bears, wolves, and all other animals of the chase, which abounded in its woods, and for the delicate trout which peopled its mountain waters.

The reasons which guided Charles the Fifth in his choice of a retreat have never been satisfactorily explained. There is no direct evidence that he had even visited the Vera before he came there to die.¹ It is possible that the patriotism of some Estremaduran companion in arms, and his talk on the march or by the camp fire, may have obtained for his native province the honour of being the scene of the emperor's evening of life. While making the pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, in April, 1525,² or during the few days which he spent at Oropesa on his way to Seville, in February, 1526,³ it is not improbable that love of the chase may have tempted Charles to penetrate the surrounding forests, and that the sylvan valley may have remained pictured in his memory as the very solitude for some future Diocletian. In 1534 he was at Salamanca, visiting his old tutor, bishop Luis Cabeza de Vaca,

puted and the honour claimed for the Alps, and a place called *Fuessen*, supposed to be derived from *Fauces*, of which *Garganta* is also a translation. Theodore of St. Gall, who wrote the life of St. Magnus (printed by J. Messingham, *Florilegium Sanct. Hibernia*, 4to. Paris: 1624, p. 296), is entirely silent as to the claims of the Vera.

¹ Robertson (*Charles V.*, b. xii.) cites no authority for his account of the matter. 'From Valladolid,' says he, 'he [the emperor] continued his journey to Plasencia [a town which, as we have seen, he purposely avoided.] He had passed through this place a great many years before; and having been struck at that time with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants that this was a spot to which Diocletian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat.'

² Fr. Gabriel de Talavera: *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, 4to. Toledo, 1597. The letter of brotherhood, *carta de hermandad*, given to the emperor, printed at fol. 210, is dated 21 April, 1525.

³ *Itinerary of the emperor, by Vandenesse, from 1519 to 1551*, printed in Bradford's *Correspondence*, p. 490. He remained at Oropesa (erroneously written *Aropesa*) from the 23th to the end of February.

and undergoing the pompous and pedantic civilities of the university;¹ and it is also possible that in that journey he may have had a glimpse of his final resting-place. But there was no palace or hunting-seat of the crown near enough to the Vera to have made him naturally familiar with so remote a spot; nor do the annals of Yuste, or even of Plasencia, contain any record of an imperial visit either to the sequestered convent or to the pleasant city. Of the natural charms of the place he may have heard enough to attract him thither; the reputation of the valley for salubrity, which seems to have been scarcely deserved,² was probably rather the consequence than the cause of its being chosen for his retreat by the monarch of the fairest portions of Europe.

The village of Xarandilla is seated on the side of the sierra of Xaranda, and near the confluence of two mountain torrents which fall from the rugged Peñanegra. Its chief feature is the parish church of Our Lady of the Tower, perched on a mass of rock forty feet high, and approached by steep and narrow stairs, which give it the appearance of a place rather of defence than devotion. The mansion of the Oropesas, built in the feudal style, with corner towers, has long been in ruins; and of its imperial inmate, the village has preserved no other memorial than a fountain, which is still called the fountain

¹ Gil González de Avila: *Historia de Salamanca*; 4to. Salamanca, 1606, p. 475.

² Mariana (*De Reb. Hisp.* Lib. xi. cap. 14. fol. Toleti, 1592, p. 533) gives the city of Plasencia an opposite character. The site was called Ambroz, but Alonso VIII. changed the name—'quod nomen Placentiæ appellatione mutari placuit, omnis causa quasi divis et hominibus placituræ et ex regionis amœnitate, quamvis cœli salubritate non eadem.' This passage is cited by Fr. Alonso Fernandez, in his *Historia y Anales de Plasencia*, fol. Madrid, 1627, p. 6, with the suppression, rather patriotic than honest, of the latter damaging clause.

of the emperor, in the garden of a deserted monastery once belonging to the order of St. Augustine.

Here Charles remained for nearly three months, awaiting the completion of the works at Yuste. His abode, though only an occasional residence of his host, Fernando fourth count of Oropesa, was commodious in all save fire-places, and in the opinion of his attendants was handsomely furnished and fitted up. He installed himself in a room with a southern aspect, opening upon a covered gallery, and overlooking a flower-garden planted with orange-trees. For a few days he lived as the count's guest, but finding that his stay might be indefinitely prolonged, he afterwards commenced house-keeping on his own account. On the eighteenth of November, therefore, Oropesa and his brother, Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, who had been viceroy of Peru,¹ and ambassador to the council of Trent, took their leave, and returned to their usual home, somewhere on their adjoining estates, which extended far into the Vera on one side, and across the mountain to Tornavacas on the other.

During the whole month of November the weather was cold and stormy, giving a cheerless prospect of the winter climate of Estremadura. Rain fell every day, sometimes in torrents, and was followed by fogs, sometimes so thick, that a man became invisible at the distance of twelve paces. Yuste, on its wooded hill side, was wrapped in a mantle of perpetual and impenetrable mist. For whole days it was impossible to leave the house, the streets of Xarandilla being canals of muddy water, through which Luis Quixada waded from his lodging to his daily duties, in fisherman's boots made of felt and cow-hide.

¹ P. de Rojas: *Discursos Genealogicos*, 4to. Toledo: 1636, p. 111.

Meanwhile the emperor, wrapped in a robe of eider-down made from the princess's cushions, sat by the fire-side, in good health and spirits, attended by the secretary Gaztelu, who read to him the despatches which arrived almost daily from Valladolid, and wrote replies from his dictation. The course of events in Flanders was watched by Charles with especial interest; he was always eager for intelligence, and Gaztelu never finished reading a letter without being asked if there was no more.

By a remarkable coincidence the year which saw the emperor descend from his throne, at the age of fifty-six, to prepare for his tomb, likewise saw a newly-elected pope plunging, at the age of eighty, into the vortex of political strife, with all the reckless ardour of a boy. The two men seemed to have changed characters as well as places. Charles, the most ambitious of princes, was about to turn monk; Caraffa, the most studious and ascetic of monks, bursting from that chrysalis state, shone forth as the most splendid and restless sovereign in Europe. No Gregory or Alexander ever played the old pontifical game of usurpation and nepotism with more arrogance and audacity than Paul the Fourth. Since Clement stole from his sacked city and beleaguered castle in the cuirass and jack-boots of a trooper, the popes had taken care to exert, only in the gentlest manner, their paternal authority over the house of Hapsburg. But Paul, as if his studies had never been disturbed by the trumpets of Bourbon, flung experience and prudence to the winds. Hating Spain with the hatred of an hereditary bondsman, the old volcanic Neapolitan poured forth against her torrents of the foulest abuse, and, sitting in the pastoral chair of St. Peter, he denounced the Spanish portion of his Christian flock as 'heretics, schismatics, accursed of God, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the off-

scouring of the earth.¹ War seemed to offer a prospect, not only of gratifying his hatred with sharper weapons than words, but of providing his nephews with duchies, which were seldom to be obtained in times of peace. He therefore lured France across the Alps, holding out such hopes of the crown of Naples as no French king has ever been able to realize or resist. Henry the Second, only a few months before, had concluded a truce for five years with the king of Spain. But at the call of the minister of truth and peace, whose hereditary device happened to bear the canting motto, *Cara Fé*, he was ready to commit any profitable perfidy and undertake any promising war. The admiral Coligny was therefore sent to carry fire and sword into Flanders; and the gallant duke of Guise, the ablest general in France, led twenty thousand of her best troops into Italy.

Philip the Second, too faithless himself to be surprised at the bad faith of his royal brother, took vigorous measures to frustrate his endeavours. He gave the military command of the Netherlands to duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy; he entrusted the duke of Alba with the defence of Naples; and he himself passed into England, and secured the co-operation of the love-sick Mary, in the teeth of her distrustful and Spain-hating ministers and people.

After a lapse of three centuries, Emanuel Philibert still ranks as the most able and honest prince of that royal line of Savoy, in which, although ability has seldom been wanting, geography seems to have rendered honesty

¹ 'Heretici, scismatici, et maladetti de Dio, seme de' Giudei et de' Marrani, feccia del mondo.' Cited by Federigo Badovaro in his *Relatione* 1557, made to his government as ambassador from Venice to the king of Spain, of which an account is given in an interesting paper by Marchal in the *Bulletins de l'Academie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*; tom. xii. 1^{er} partie, 1845, p. 63.

almost impossible.¹ His father, duke Charles, in the long wars between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, had been nearly stripped of his territory. Part was conquered by his nephew and enemy, the king; and part was held, for security's sake, in the strong grasp of his brother-in-law and friend, the emperor. When his life and injuries were ended, Emanuel Philibert found a few remote valleys of highland Piedmont the sole dominion of the house which claimed the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Happily the young Ironhead, as he was called, had early foreseen that the career of a soldier of fortune was the one path by which he could hope to regain his position among the princes of Europe. He therefore gave himself, heart and soul, to the profession of arms, and, having served with distinction under his imperial uncle in Germany and Flanders, he was already, though still under thirty, reckoned one of the best captains in the service of Spain.²

Ferdinand duke of Alba became, in his old age, the last of the great soldiers of Castille. His grandfather, the first duke, under the Catholic king, had led the Christian chivalry to the leaguer of Granada; his father had left his bones among the Moors in the African isle of Zerbi; and he himself had fought by the side of the emperor on the banks of the Danube, beneath the walls of Tunis, in Provence and Dauphiny, and in the Protestant electorates. He had held independent commands of importance in Catalonia and Navarre, and he had commanded in chief in the campaign which closed with the victory at Muhlberg and the capture of the duke of Saxony. These triumphs had been clouded by his repulse from Metz, and his late reverses in the

¹ 'La Géographie les empêche d'être honnêtes gens.' Prince de Ligne; *Mélanges*, 5 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1829, v. p. 29.

² *Histoire d'Emanuel Philibert*. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 5.

Milanese; but the stern disciplinarian was still hardly past the prime of life, and in full favour with his sovereign; and he joined the army of Naples, resolved to win back on the Roman campagna the laurels which he had lost on the plains of the Po.¹

Besides the momentous affairs of Italy and the Netherlands, several minor matters claimed and obtained the emperor's attention. Foremost amongst them stood the negotiations with the court of Portugal, touching the infanta Mary. Queen Eleanor, the mother of this princess, had not seen her since the time when she herself had been recalled, in her first widowhood, to Castille by the emperor, and had left her baby under the care of her half-brother, John the Third. She parted with her sadly against her will, and only because the usages of Portugal and the clamours of the city of Lisbon did not permit an infanta to leave the kingdom. It had since been the main object of the fond mother's heart to negotiate for her daughter such a marriage as should set her free from this thralldom, and once more reunite them. She had first affianced her to the Dauphin, who did not live to fulfil his engagement; and she afterwards vainly endeavoured to match her

¹ J. V. Rustant; *Historia del duque de Alva*; 2 tom. 4to. Madrid: 1751; a book which seems to be little more than a translation of the rare Latin life by Osorio. This famous leader is held very cheap by Badovaro in his *Relatione* already quoted at p. 36. He accuses him not only of ignorance of military affairs, but of cowardice, and asserts that his appointment to the chief command in Germany astonished the whole army, and was a mere job to please the Spaniards, which the emperor consented to, because he had made up his mind to do the whole work himself. As regards Charles, this statement is so improbable, that it may well be supposed to rest on the authority of some of the numerous enemies of Alba, who hated him for his haughty manners and severe discipline. It is certain that he had every opportunity of learning his profession in all the imperial wars, that the emperor himself employed him at Metz, and that in his old age he was so far superior to any other general in the Spanish service, that Philip II. entrusted him, though in disgrace at the time, with the conquest of Portugal.

with Maximilian, king of Bohemia, and Philip of Castille.¹ In following her brother and sister to Spain, Eleanor was much influenced by the hope of inducing her daughter to come and reside with her in that country. Philip the Second also seemed desirous of making some amends for his ungenerous treatment of the infanta, by marrying her to their mutual cousin, the archduke Charles of Austria. John the Third of Portugal, her guardian, was likewise solicitous to provide her with a husband, and had offered her hand, not only to the archduke, but also to the emperor Ferdinand his father, and to the duke of Savoy, without success.² Dispirited by these mortifications, Mary herself turned her thoughts to the natural refuge of a love-lorn damsel of thirty-six—the cloister; and the falseness of Philip had filled her heart with bitterness towards Spain and her Spanish relations, and with distrust of any proposal which came from beyond the Guadiana. She even demurred about complying with the desire of her mother, that they should meet on the frontier of the two kingdoms; and the king of Portugal sustained her objections on the ground that he did not wish her to be inveigled into taking the veil in a Spanish nunnery. The emperor had already declined his son's invitation to interfere, but he now found it impossible to resist the entreaties of his sisters and the princess-regent. He therefore allowed the Portuguese ambassador, Don Sancho de Cordova, to come to Xarandilla on the twenty-ninth of November, and gave him several audiences during his two days' stay.

King Anthony of Navarre, as he was called in France,

¹ Damiam de Goes: *Chronica do Rei Dom Emanuel*, 4 tom. fol. Lisbon: 1566-7, iv. p. 84.

² Meneses: *Chronica de D. Sebastião*, p. 69.

in right of his wife, or the duke of Vendome, as he was styled in Spain, had also contrived to gain the emperor's attention to his proposals.¹ His emissary, M. Ezcurra, therefore presented himself at Xarandilla, on the third of December, and was dismissed with a letter, written in cipher, to the secretary Vazquez.

On the eighth of December there arrived a Jew of Barbary, bringing with him papers to prove that the king of France was negotiating a secret treaty at Fez, by which it was rendered probable that Moorish rovers would soon revenge on the coasts of Spain the ravages committed by the Spanish troops on the frontiers of Picardy. The informer was sent on to Valladolid, on the ninth, with a letter to the secretary of state.

The progress of the works at Yuste, and the preparations for removal thither, were subjects of every-day discussion. The new buildings had been commenced more than three years before, the first money being paid for the purpose on the thirtieth of July, 1553. Gaspar de Vega, one of the best of the royal architects, gave the plans, working, however, it is said, from a sketch drawn by the emperor's own hand. Yuste was visited on the twenty-fourth of May, 1554, by Philip, at the desire of his father, as he was on his road to England. He assisted at the procession of Corpus Christi, inspected the works with great minuteness, and slept a night in the convent. The control of the cash and the general superintendence of the building was entrusted to Fray Juan de Ortega, general of the Jeromites, and Fray Melchor de Pie de Concha. Ortega was a man of ability and learning, who enjoyed for a time the reputation of having written *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the charming parent of those picaresque stories in which modern

¹ Chap. i. p. 23.

fiction had its birth. Certain reforms which he attempted to introduce into the rule of his order, met with so much opposition and odium, that he was deposed from the generalship, when his successor, Tofiño, thought fit to remove him and his assistant, Concha, from their functions at Yuste. The emperor, however, was highly indignant at this interference, and immediately replaced them in their duties, which they continued to discharge at the time of his arrival at Xarandilla.

The greatest secrecy had been enjoined as to the purpose of these architectural operations, and Charles had evinced much displeasure on learning that his intention of retiring to the monastery had been spoken of in the country, owing to the indiscreet tattling of the friars. Ortega, as well as the general Tofiño, had been summoned to meet him at Valladolid, and now at Xarandilla they and the prior of Yuste had long and frequent audiences. On the twenty-second of November, in spite of the rain and fog, the emperor got into his litter, and went over to the convent, to inspect the state of the works for himself. It being the feast of St. Catherine, it was his first care to perform his devotions in the church. Notwithstanding the gloom of the weather and the wintry forest, he declared himself satisfied with what he saw, and ordered forty beds to be prepared, twenty for masters and twenty for servants, as speedily as possible. His intention was to remain at Xarandilla until the arrival of certain books and papers, which it was necessary to consult before settling with the domestics whom he was about to discharge; but he hoped to remove to the convent in the middle of December.

Meanwhile, the household, especially the Flemish and more numerous portion of it, was in a state of dis-

content, bordering on mutiny. The chosen paradise of the master was regarded as a sort of hell upon earth by the servants. The mayordomo and the secretary poured, by every post, their griefs into the ear of the secretary of state. The count of Oropesa, wrote Luis Quixada, had been driven away from Xarandilla by the damp, and Yuste was well known to be far damper than Xarandilla. His majesty had been pleased to approve of the abode prepared for him, but he himself had likewise been there, and knew that it was full of defects and discomfort. The rooms were too small, the windows too large; the window which opened from the emperor's bed-room into the church would not command the elevation of the host at the high altar; and if service were performed at one of the side altars, where the officiating monk could be seen by his majesty in bed, his majesty in bed would be seen by the monk. In spite of the glass and the shutters, he feared that the emperor would be disturbed during the night when the hours were chanted. The apartments on the ground floor were in utter darkness, and reeking with moisture; the garden was paltry, the orange-trees few, and the boasted prospect, what was it, but a hill and some oak trees? Nevertheless, he hoped the place might prove better than it promised; and he entreated the secretary not to show his letter to her highness, nor to tell her of the disparaging tone in which he had written about Yuste.

Gaztelu was equally desponding. Some of the friars were to be drafted off into other convents, to make room for the new comers; and none being willing to forego the chances of imperial favour, fierce dissensions had arisen on this point, and had even reached the emperor's ears. It seemed as if his majesty must adjust these quarrels himself, or seek another retreat, which would be much against his inclination; but, indeed,

what good could be expected to come of wishing to live among friars? Their quartermaster, Ruggier, in reporting progress, had ventured to complain of the want of servants' accommodation. At this the emperor was very angry, and telling him that he wanted his service and not his advice, said he must find means of lodging twenty-one of the people at Yuste, and the rest at Quacos, 'a place,' added Gaztelu, piteously, 'worse than Xarandilla.' Still more was the emperor exasperated at a letter which he received from the queen of Hungary, entreating him to think twice before he settled in a spot 'so unhealthy as Yuste;' and he expressed great wrath against those who had given her such information, and whom he suspected to be Monsieur Lachaulx and the doctor Cornelio, who had lately come from court. Poor Lachaulx might well be excused if he had given an unfavourable report of the climate, for he continued to burn and shiver with violent ague fits, and the doctor found a good many patients in the ranks of the household. In spite, however, of these various distresses, the Flemings, according to the testimony of the Castellians, looked fair and fat, and fed voraciously on the 'hams and other bucolic meats' of Estremadura, a province still unrivalled in its swine and its savoury preparations of pork.

In this matter of eating, as in many other habits, the emperor was himself a true Fleming. His early tendency to gout was increased by his indulgences at table, which generally far exceeded his feeble powers of digestion. Roger Ascham, standing 'hard by the imperial table at the feast of Golden fleece,' watched with wonder the emperor's progress through 'sod beef, roast mutton, baked hare,' after which 'he fed well of a capon,' drinking also, says the fellow of St. John's, 'the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass five times as

long as any of them, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine.¹ Even in his worst days of gout and dyspepsia, before setting out from Flanders, the fulness and frequency of the meals which occurred between his spiced milk in the morning and his heavy supper at night, so amazed an envoy of Venice,² that he thought them worthy of especial notice in his despatch to the senate. The emperor's palate, he reported, was, like his stomach, quite worn out; he was ever complaining of the sameness and insipidity of the meats served at his table; and the chief cook, Monfalconetto, at last protested, in despair, that he knew not how to please his master, unless he were to gratify his taste for culinary novelty and chronometrical mechanism, by sending him up a pasty of watches.

Eating was now the only physical gratification which he could still enjoy, or was unable to resist. He continued, therefore, to dine to the last upon the rich dishes, against which his ancient and trusty confessor, cardinal Loaysa, had protested a quarter of a century before.³ The supply of his table was a main subject of the correspondence between the mayordomo and the secretary of state. The weekly courier from Valladolid to Lisbon was ordered to change his route that he might bring, every Thursday, a provision of eels and other rich fish (*pescado grueso*) for Friday's fast. There was a constant demand for anchovies, tunny, and other potted fish, and sometimes a complaint that the trouts of the country were too small; the olives, on the other hand, were too large, and the emperor wished, instead, for olives of

¹ *Works of Roger Ascham*, 4to. London: 1761, p. 375.

² Badovaro. See p. 36.

³ *Cartas al Emp. Carlos V. escritas en los años de 1530-32. Copiadas de las autografas en el archivo de Simancas.* Par G. Heine. 8vo. Berlin, 1848, p. 69.

Perejon. One day, the secretary of state was asked for some partridges from Gama, a place from whence the emperor remembered that the count of Osorno once sent him, into Flanders, 'some of the best partridges in the world.'¹ Another day, sausages were wanted 'of the kind which the queen Juana, now in glory, used to pride herself in making, in the Flemish fashion, at Tordesillas,' and for the receipt for which the secretary is referred to the marquis of Denia. Both orders were punctually executed. The sausages, although sent to a land supreme in that manufacture, gave great satisfaction. Of the partridges, the emperor said that they used to be better, ordering, however, the remainder to be pickled.

The emperor's weakness being generally known or soon discovered, dainties of all kinds were sent to him as presents. Mutton, pork, and game were the provisions most easily obtained at Xarandilla; but they were dear. The bread was indifferent, and nothing was good and abundant but chestnuts, the staple food of the people. But in a very few days the castle larder wanted for nothing. One day the count of Oropesa sent an offering of game; another day a pair of fat calves arrived from the archbishop of Zaragoza; the archbishop of Toledo and the duchess of Frias were constant and magnificent in their gifts of venison, fruit, and preserves; and supplies of all kinds came at regular intervals from Seville and from Portugal.

Luis Quixada, who knew the emperor's habits and constitution well, beheld with dismay these long trains of mules laden, as it were, with gout and bile. He never acknowledged the receipt of the good things from Val-

¹ The count managed that they should reach Flanders in perfect condition by 'echandoles orin en la boca.' The emperor considered that this singular preservative would not be necessary in the present journey.

ladolid without adding some dismal forebodings of consequent mischief; and along with an order he sometimes conveyed a hint that it would be much better if no means were found of executing it. If the emperor made a hearty meal without being the worse for it, the mayor-domo noted the fact with exultation; and he remarked with complacency his majesty's fondness for plovers, which he considered harmless. But his office of purveyor was more commonly exercised under protest; and he interposed between his master and an eel-pie as, in other days he would have thrown himself between the imperial person and the point of a Moorish lance.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

CHAPTER III.

SERVANTS AND VISITORS.

IT was during the emperor's stay at Xarandilla, that his household was joined by the friar of the order of St. Jerome, whom he had chosen as his confessor. To this important post Juan de Regla was perhaps fairly entitled, by his professional distinction; and he was certainly one of those monks who knew how to make ladders, to place and favour, of the ropes which girt their ascetic loins. An Aragonese by birth, he first saw the light in a peasant's hut on the mountains of Jaca, in 1500, the same year in which the future Cæsar, who was destined to be his spiritual son, was born, in the halls of the house of Burgundy, in the good city of Ghent. At fourteen, he was sent to Zaragoza, to make one of the motley crew of poor scholars, so often the glory and the shame of the Spanish church, and the delight of the picaresque literature. Obtaining as he could the rudiments of what was then held to be learning, he lived on alms and the charity-soup dispensed by the Jeromites of Santa Engracia. During the vacations, by carrying letters or messages, sometimes as far as Barcelona, Valencia, or Madrid, he earned a little money, which he spent in books. His diligent pursuit of knowledge having attracted the notice of the fathers of Santa Engracia, their favour obtained for him the post of domestic tutor to two lads of family, who were about to enter the university of Salamanca. In that congenial

abode he remained for thirteen years, in the last six of which he was released from the duties of pedagogue, and free to pursue his private reading of theology, canon-law, and the biblical tongues. With his mind thus stored, he returned, in his thirty-sixth year, to Zaragoza, and received the habit of St. Jerome in the familiar cloisters of Santa Engracia. Ere long, he had made himself the most popular confessor within its walls, young and old flocking to his chair in such crowds, that it seemed as if perpetual holy-week were kept in the convent-church. As a preacher, his success was not so great; and the critics considered his discourses to be deficient in learning, of which, nevertheless, he had enough to be chosen as one of the theologians, sent in 1551 by Charles the Fifth to represent the doctors of Aragon at the council of Trent. At his return from this honourable, but fruitless mission, he became prior of the convent whose broken meat he had once eaten; and he would have been elected to that office a second time, had not the emperor summoned him to Xarandilla to commence a higher career of ambition, and to enter political life at the precise age at which Charles himself was retiring from it. On being introduced into the imperial presence, Regla chose to speak, in the mitre-shunning cant of his cloth, of the great reluctance which he had felt in accepting a post of such weighty responsibility. 'Never fear,' said Charles, somewhat maliciously, as if conscious that he was dealing with a hypocrite; 'before I left Flanders, five doctors were engaged for a whole year in easing my conscience; so you will have nothing to answer for but what happens here.'

It may be as well now to sketch the portraits of the other members of the imperial household, who afterwards formed the principal personages of the tiny court of Yuste. Foremost in interest as in rank stands

the active mayordomo, who has already figured so frequently in this narrative, Luis Quixada, or to give him his full Castillian appellation, Luis Mendez Quixada Manuel de Figueredo y Mendoza. He was the second son of Gutierre Gonçalez Quixada, lord of Villagarcia, by Maria Manuel, lady of Villamayor, and with his two brothers early embraced the profession of arms. The elder brother became so distinguished as a leader of the famous infantry of Spain, that it was sufficient praise to say of soldiers in that service that they were as well appointed and as well disciplined as those of Gutierre Quixada.¹ He was slain before Tunis, in 1535, when the family estates passed to the second brother Luis. Commencing his career as a page in the imperial household, Luis had likewise served with distinction in the same campaign as a captain of foot. His sagacity allayed the discord which had arisen between the Spanish and Italians about the post of honour before Goleta;² and he was wounded while leading his company to the assault of its bastions.³ At Tarvanna he was again at the head of a storming party, when his younger brother Juan fell at his side, slain by a ball from a French arquebus.⁴ His services soon raised him to the grade of colonel, and he was also promoted, in the imperial household, to the post of deputy mayordomo, under the duke of Alba, and in that capacity constantly attended the person and obtained the entire confidence of the emperor. In 1549, he married Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a lady of blood as blue and nature as gentle as any in Castille.⁵ The marriage took place

¹ *Cartas de Loaysa*, p. 66.

² Sandoval: *Hist. de Carlos V.*, lib. xxii. c. 17.

³ *Ib.* c. 27.

⁴ J. G. Sepulveda: *De Rebus gestis Caroli V.*, lib. xxviii. c. 27.

⁵ Juan de Villafañe: *Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*, 4to. Salamanca: 1723, p. 43.

at Valladolid, the bridegroom appearing by proxy, but he soon after obtained leave of absence from Bruxelles, and joined his bride in Spain. They retired for awhile to his patrimonial mansion at Villagarcia, a small town lying six leagues from Valladolid, beyond the heath of San Pedro de la Espina, in the vale of the Sequillo.

To Quixada's care the emperor afterwards confided his illegitimate son, in later years so famous as Don John of Austria. The boy was sent to Spain in 1550, in his fourth year, under the name of Geronimo, in the charge of one Massi, a favourite musician of the emperor, who was told that he was the son of Adrian de Bues, one of the gentlemen of the imperial chamber.¹ At this man's death, he remained for some time with his widow at Leganes, near Madrid, learning his letters from the curate and sacristan, running wild among the village children, or with his cross-bow ranging the corn-clad plains in pursuit of sparrows. It was not until 1554 that he was transferred to the more fitting guardianship of the lady of Villagarcia; the imperial usher who brought him, bringing her also a letter from

¹ With the emperor's will was deposited in the royal archives a packet of four papers, which appears to have been at first in the custody of Philip II., being inscribed in his hand-writing, 'If I die before his majesty, to be returned to him; if after him to be given to my son; or, failing him, my next heir.' In the first of these papers, the contents of which will be noticed more particularly in another place, the emperor acknowledged Geronino to be his son, begotten, during his widowhood, of an unmarried woman in Germany, and referred his heir for further information concerning him to Adrian de Bues; or, in case of his death, to Oger Bodoarte, porter of the imperial chamber. Inside this document was the receipt granted by Massi, his wife Ana de Medina, and their son Diego, for the son of Adrian de Bues, and a sum of one hundred crowns to defray his travelling expenses to Spain, and one year's board and lodging, calculated from the 1st of August, 1550, and binding themselves to accept fifty ducats for his annual keep in future, and to preserve the strictest secrecy as to his parentage. This curious receipt is dated Bruxelles, 13 June, 1550, and is signed by the parties, Oger Bodoarte signing for the woman, at her husband's request, she being unable to write. The documents are printed at full length in the *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. 496.

Quixada, commending the young stranger to her care as 'the son of a great man, his dear friend.' Magdalena, who had no children of her own, took the pretty sun-burnt boy at once to her heart, and watched over him with the tenderest solicitude; supposing, for some time, that he was the offspring of some early attachment of her lord. A fire breaking out in the house at midnight, Quixada by rushing to the rescue of his ward before he attended to the safety of his wife, led her afterwards to suspect the truth.¹ But as long as the emperor lived, the mayordomo never suffered her to penetrate the mystery. Amongst the neighbours Don John passed for a favourite page. The parental care of his guardians, whom he called, according to a usual mode of Castilian endearment, his uncle and aunt, he returned with the affection of a son. Doña Magdalena used to make him the dispenser of the alms of bread and money, which were given at her gate on stated days to the poor; and her efforts to imbue him with devotion towards the Blessed Virgin are supposed by his historians to have borne good fruit, in the banners, embroidered with Our Lady's image, which floated from every galley in his fleet at Lepanto. In the early part of his education, Quixada had but little share, being generally absent in attendance on the emperor. During his brief visits to his estate, he lived the usual life of a country hidalgo, amusing himself with the chase and law, and carrying on a tedious plea with his tenants about manorial rights, in which he was ultimately defeated. He was, nevertheless, much attached to his paternal fields on the naked plains of Old Castille, and although he may have been contented to exchange them for the active life of the camp or the court, it was not without many a pang

¹ Villafañe: *Vida de M. de Ulloa*, p. 43.

that he prepared for his banishment to the wilds of Estremadura. Unconsciously portrayed in his own graphic letters, the best of the Yuste correspondence, he stands forth the type of the cavalier, and 'old rusty Christian,'¹ of Castille—spare and sinewy of frame, and somewhat formal and severe in the cut of his beard and the fashion of his manners; in character reserved and punctilious, but true as steel to the cause espoused or the duty undertaken; keen and clear in his insight into men and things around him, yet devoutly believing his master the greatest prince that ever had been or was to be; proud of himself, his family, and his services, and inclined, in a grave decorous way, to exaggerate their importance; a true son of the church, with an instinctive distrust of its ministers; a hater of Jews, Turks, heretics, friars, and Flemings; somewhat testy, somewhat obstinate, full of strong sense and strong prejudice; a warm-hearted, energetic, and honest man.

Martin Gaztelu, the secretary, comes next to the mayordomo in order of precedence, and in the importance of his functions. His place was one of great trust. The whole correspondence of the emperor passed through his hands. Even the most private and confidential communications addressed to the princess-regent by her father, were generally written at his dictation, by Gaztelu; for the imperial fingers were seldom sufficiently free from gout to be able to do more than add a brief postscript, in which Doña Juana was assured of the affection of her *buen padre Carlos*. The secretary had probably spent his life in the service of the emperor; but I have been unable to learn more of his history than his letters have preserved. His epistolary style was

¹ 'Cristiano viejo rancioso,' *Don Quixote*, p. i. cap. xxvii., so translated by Shelton.

clear, simple, and business-like, but inferior to that of Quixada in humour, and in careless graphic touch, and more sparing in glimpses of the rural life of Estremadura three hundred years ago.

William Van Male, or, as the Spaniards called him, Malines, or in that Latin form in which his name still lingers in the bye-ways of literature, Malineus, was the scholar and man of letters of the society. Born at Bruges, of a noble but decayed family, and with a learned education for his sole patrimony, he went to seek his fortune in Spain, and the service of the duke of Alba, an iron soldier, who cherished the arts of peace with a discerning love very rare in his profession and his country. He afterwards turned his thoughts towards the church, but not obtaining any preferment, he did not receive the tonsure. About 1548, Don Luis de Avila, grand-commander of Alcantara, and a soldier, historian, and court favourite of great eminence, engaged him to put into Latin his commentaries on the wars in Germany, holding out hopes of placing him, in return, in the imperial household. Van Male executed his task with much elegance,¹ but Avila failed to fulfil the hopes he had excited, although the modest ambition of his translator did not soar beyond the post of historiographer, and two hundred florins a year. Another and a better friend, however, the Seigneur de Praet, obtained for Van Male, in 1550, the place of *barbero*, or gentleman of the imperial chamber of the second class.

His learning, intelligence, industry, cheerful disposition, and simple nature, made him a great favourite with the emperor, who soon could scarcely dispense with his

¹ Ludov. de Avila *Commentariorum de Bello Germanico a Caroli Cæsare gesto*, lib. ii. 8vo, Antverpiæ, 1550. It was printed by Steels, who reprinted it the same year; and another edition was published in 12mo, at Strasburg in 1620.

attendance by day or night. With a strong natural taste for arts and letters, Charles, often during his busy life, regretted that his imperfect early education debarred him from many literary pursuits and pleasures. In Van Male he had found a humble instrument, ever ready, able, and willing to supply his deficiencies. Sailing up the Rhine, in 1550, he beguiled the tedium of the voyage by composing a memoir of his campaigns and travels. The new gentleman of the chamber was employed on his old task of translation; and he accordingly turned the emperor's French, which he likewise pronounced to be terse, elegant, and eloquent, into Latin, in which he put forth his whole strength, and combined, as he supposed, the styles of Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, and Tacitus.

Another of the emperor's literary recreations was to make a version, in Castillian prose, of the old and popular French poem, called *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, an allegory composed some twenty years before, by Oliver de la Marche, in honour of the ducal house of Burgundy. Fernando de Acuña, a soldier-poet, and at that time keeper of the captive elector, George Frederick of Saxony, was then commanded to turn it into rhyme, a task which he performed very happily, working up the emperor's prose into spirited and richly idiomatic verse, retouching and refreshing the antiquated flattery of the last century, and stealing, here and there, a chaplet from the old Burgundian monument to hang upon the shrine of Aragon and Castille. The manuscript was finally given to Van Male, in order to be passed through the press, the emperor telling him that he might have the profits of the publication for his pains, but forbidding that the book should contain any allusion to his own share in its production. Against this condition Van Male remonstrated, knowing, no doubt, that the name

of the imperial translator would sell the book far more speedily and certainly than any possible merit of the translation, and alleging that such a condition was an injustice both to the honourable vocation of letters and to the world at large. The emperor, however, was inflexible, and the Spanish courtiers wickedly affected the greatest envy at the good fortune of the Fleming. Luis de Avila, with special malice, in his quality of author assured the emperor that the book would yield a profit of five hundred crowns, upon which Charles, charmed at being generous at no cost at all, remarked, 'Well, it is right that William, who has had the greatest part of the sweat, should reap the harvest.' Poor Van Male saw no prospect of reaping anything but chaff; he timidly hinted at the risk of the undertaking, and did his best to escape the threatened boon. But hints were thrown away on the emperor; he was eager to see himself in type; and he accordingly ordered Jean Steels to strike off, at Van Male's expense, two thousand copies of a book which is now scarce, perhaps because the greater part of the impression passed at once from the publisher to the pastrycook. The pecuniary results have not been recorded, but there is little doubt that the Fleming's fears were justified rather than the hopes of the malicious companions, whom he called, in his vexation, 'those windy Spaniards.'

During the six harassed and sickly years which preceded the emperor's abdication, Van Male was his constant attendant, and usually slept in an adjoining room, to be ever within call. Many a sleepless night Charles beguiled by hearing the poor scholar read the Vulgate, and illustrate it by citations from Josephus or other writers; and sometimes they sang psalms together, a devotional exercise of which the emperor was very fond. He had composed certain prayers for his own use, which

he now required Van Male to put into Latin, and otherwise correct and arrange. The work was so well executed that Charles several times spoke, in the hearing of some of the other courtiers, of the comfort he had found in praying in Van Male's terse and elegant Latinity instead of his own rambling French. This praise from the master produced the usual envy among the servants; the chaplains, especially, were indignant that a layman should have thus poached upon their peculiar ground and be praised for it, and they assailed him with all kinds of coarse jests, and saluted him by a Greek name signifying praying-master. They did not, however, undermine his credit; the emperor treated him with undiminished confidence; he alone was present when the doctors Vesalius and Barsdorp were wrangling over the symptoms and the diseases of his master's shattered frame; and, as he watched through the long winter nights by the imperial couch, he was admitted to a nearer view than any other man had ever attained of the history and the workings of that ardent, reserved, and commanding mind. 'I was struck dumb,' he wrote to his friend De Praet, after one of these mysterious confidences, 'and I even now tremble at the recollection of the things which he told me.'

The small collection of letters to De Praet¹ contain nearly all that is known of the life of Van Male. These letters were written for the most part in 1550, 1551, and 1552, sometimes by the emperor's bedside, and often long after midnight, when his tossings had subsided into slumber. Lively and agreeable as letters,

¹ *Lettres sur la vie intérieure de l'Empereur Charles Quint.*, écrites par Guillaume Van Male, publiées par le Baron de Reiffenberg, 8vo. Bruxelles: 1843. M. Reiffenberg has fallen into an error in supposing (p. xxiii.) that Van Male retired from the emperor's service at the time of the abdication.

they are invaluable for the glimpses they afford of the everyday life of Charles. In them we can look at the hero of the sixteenth century with the eyes of his valet. We can see him in his various moods—now well and cheerful, now bilious and peevish; ever suffering from his fatal love of eating, (*edacitas damnosa*,) yet never able to restrain it; rebelling against the prudent rules of Baersdrop and the great Vesalius, and appealing to one Caballo, (*Caballus*, by Van Male called *onagrus magnus*,) a Spanish quack, whose dietary was whatever his patient liked to eat and drink: calling for his iced beer before daybreak, and then repenting at the warnings of Van Male and the dysentery; now listening to the book of Esdras, or criticising the wars of the Maccabees, and now laughing heartily at a filthy saying of the Turkish envoy; groaning in his bed, in a complication of pains and disorders; or mounting his favourite genet, matchless in shape and blood, to review his artillery in the vale of the Moselle.

In spite of his busy life, Van Male found time for his beloved books, and De Praet being also a book-collector, the letters addressed to him are full of notices of borrowings and lendings, buyings and exchanging, of favourite authors, generally the classics. At the memorable flight from Innsbruck, when the emperor in his litter was smuggled by torchlight through the passes into Carinthia, the library of Van Male fell, with the rest of the imperial booty, into the hands of the pikemen of duke Maurice. 'Ah,' says he, 'with how many tears and lamentations have I wailed the funeral wail of my library!' When the emperor's great army lay before Metz, sanguine of success and plunder, the afflicted scholar prepared for his revenge, and engaged some Spanish veterans, masters in the art of pillage, to assist him in securing the cream of the literary spoil. 'Non

ultra metas,' however, was the new reading which the gallantry of Guise enabled the wits of Metz to offer of the famous '*Plus ultra*' of Austria; and Van Male was balked of the hours of delicious rapine to which he looked forward amongst the cabinets of the curious.

But if he were willing on an occasion to make free with other men's book-shelves, he was also willing that other men should make free with the produce of his own brains. The emperor having read Paolo Giovio's account of his expedition to Tunis, was desirous that certain errors should be corrected. Van Male was therefore desired to undertake the task, and he commenced it, so new was the art of reviewing, by reading the work four times through. He then drew up, with the assistance of hints from the emperor, a long letter to the author, in a style soft and courtly as the bishop's own, which was signed and sent by Luis de Avila, who, having served in the war, was judged more eligible as the ostensible critic.

Under the pressure of duties at the desk and in the dressing-room, the health of Van Male gave way, and he was sometimes little less a valetudinarian than the great man to whom he administered Maccabees, physic, or iced-beer. He had seized the opportunity of a short absence on sick-leave to crown a long attachment by marriage; and sometime before his master's abdication, he had applied for a place in the treasury of the Netherlands, under his friend De Praet. The emperor, on hearing of his entrance into the wedded state, expressed the warmest approbation of the step, and interest in his welfare. 'You will hardly believe,' wrote the simple-minded good man, 'with what approval Cæsar received my communication, and how, when we were alone, not once, but several times, he laid me down rules for my future guidance, exhorting me to frugality,

parsimony, and other virtues of domestic life.' His majesty, however, gave him nothing but good advice, unwilling, perhaps, to diminish the value of his precepts by lessening the necessity of practising them. Getting no place, therefore, Van Male was forced, with his dear Hippolyta and her babes, to encounter the bay of Biscay, and the mountain roads of Spain.

The emperor, indeed, could not do without him. Peevish with gout, and wearied by the delays at Yuste, and the discontent among his people, he one day scolded him so harshly for being out of the way when he called, that Van Male tendered his resignation, which was accepted. But, ere a week had elapsed, both parties had cooled down; and the Spanish secretary remarked that William had not only been forgiven, but was as much in favour as before. His temper must have been excellent, for he contrived to be a favourite with his master without being the detestation of his Castillian fellow-servants.

The doctor of the court was a young Fleming, named Henry Mathys, or, in the Spanish form, Mathisio. He had not held the appointment long, and there being much sickness at Xarandilla, it was thought advisable to summon to his aid Dr. Giovanni Antonio Mole, from Milan. Cornelio, a Spaniard, who had long been physician to the emperor, and who was now in attendance on the princess-regent, was also sent for to Valladolid. They remained, however, only a few weeks in attendance, and Mathys was again left in sole charge of the health of the emperor and his people. He appears to have discharged his functions creditably; and with the pen, at least, he was indefatigable, for every variation in the imperial symptoms, and every pill and potion with which he endeavoured to neutralize the slow poisons daily served up by the cook, he duly chronicled

in Latin dispatches, usually addressed to the king, and written with singular dulness and prolixity.

Giovanni, or, as he was familiarly called, Juanelo Torriano, was a native of Cremona, who had attained considerable fame as a mechanician, and in that capacity had been introduced into the emperor's service many years before, by the celebrated Alonso de Avalos, marquess del Vasto. Charles brought him to Estremadura to take care of his clocks and watches, and to construct these and other pieces of mechanism for the amusement of his leisure hours.

Besides the envoys and other official people whom state affairs called to Xarandilla, there were several ancient servants of the emperor who came thither to tender the homage of their loyalty. One of these deserves especial notice for the place he holds in the history, not only of Spain, but of the religious struggles of the sixteenth century—Francisco Borja, who, a few years before, had exchanged his dukedom of Gandia for the robe of the order of Jesus. In his brilliant youth this remarkable man had been the star and pride of the nobility of Spain. He was the heir of a great and wealthy house—a branch of the royal line of Aragon,—which had already given two pontiffs to Rome, and to history, several personages remarkable for the brightness of their virtues and the blackness of their crimes. 'The universe,' cried a poet, some ages later, in a frenzy of panegyric,¹ 'is full of Borja; there are Borjas famous by sea, Borjas great by land, Borjas enthroned in heaven;' and he might have added, that there was no room to doubt that in the lower regions also, the house of Borja was

¹ *Epitome de la Eloquencia Española*, par D. Francisco Josef Artiga, 12mo. Huesca: 1692. See dedication to the duke of Gandia, by Fr. Man. Artiga, the author's son.

fairly represented. Francisco was distinguished no less by the favour of the emperor than by the splendour of his birth, the grace of his person, and the endowments of his mind. Born to be a courtier and a soldier, he was also an accomplished scholar and no inconsiderable statesman. He broke horses and trained hawks as well as the most expert master of the manage and the mews; he composed masses which long kept their place in the choirs of Spain; he was well versed in polite learning, and deeply read in the mathematics; he wrote Latin and Castillian, as his works still testify, with ease and grace; he served in Africa and Italy with distinction; and as viceroy of Catalonia, he displayed abilities for administration which in a few years might have placed him high amongst the Mendozas and De Lannoys. The pleasures and honours of the world, however, seemed from the first to have but slender attraction for the man so rarely fitted to obtain them. In the midst of life and its triumphs, his thoughts perpetually turned upon death and its mysteries. Ever punctilious in the performance of his religious duties, he early began to delight in spiritual contemplation and to discipline his mind by self-imposed penance. Even in his favourite sport of falconry he found occasion for self-punishment, by resolutely fixing his eyes on the ground at the moment when he knew that his best hawk was about to stoop upon the heron. These tendencies were confirmed by an accident which followed the death of the empress Isabella. As her master of the horse, it was Borja's duty to attend the body from Toledo to the chapel-royal of Granada, and to make oath to its identity ere it was laid in the grave. But when the coffin was opened and the cerements drawn aside, the progress of decay was found to have been so rapid that the mild and lovely face of Isabella could no longer be recognised by the

most trusted and the most faithful of her servants. His conscience would not allow him to swear that the mass of corruption thus disclosed was the remains of his royal mistress, but only that, having watched day and night beside it, he felt convinced that it could be no other than the form which he had seen enshrouded at Toledo. From that moment, in the twenty-ninth year of his prosperous life, he resolved to spend what remained to him of time in earnest preparation for eternity. A few years later, the death of his beautiful and excellent wife strengthened his purpose, by snapping the dearest tie which bound him to the world. Having erected a Jesuits' college at Gandia, their first establishment of that kind in Europe, and having married his eldest son and his two daughters, he put his affairs in order, and retired into the young and still struggling society of Ignatius Loyola. In the year 1548, the thirty-eighth of his age, he obtained the emperor's leave to make his son fifth duke of Gandia, and he himself became father Francis of the company of Jesus.

He was admitted to the company, and received ecclesiastical tonsure at Rome, from whence, to escape a cardinal's hat, he soon returned to Spain, and retired to a severe course of theological study, in a hermitage near Loyola, the Mecca of the Jesuits. Plenary indulgence having been conceded by the pope to all who should hear his first mass, he performed that rite, and preached his first sermon, in the presence of a vast concourse in the open air, at Vergara. As provincial of Aragon and Andalusia, he afterwards laboured as a preacher and teacher in many of the cities of Spain; he had procured and superintended the foundation of colleges at Alcalá and Seville; and he was now engaged in instituting and organising another at Plasencia.

In the world, Borja had been the favourite and

trusted friend of most of his royal cousins of Austria and Avis. When he had joined the society of Jesus, the infant Don Luis of Portugal for some time entertained the design of assuming the same robe; and when the queen Juana lay dying at Tordesillas, it was father Borja who was sent by the princess-regent to administer the last consolations of religion, and who began to acquire a reputation for miraculous powers, because the crazy old woman gave some feeble sign of returning reason, as she came face to face with death. Charles himself seems to have regarded him with affection as strong as his cold nature was capable of feeling. It can have been with no ordinary interest that he watched the career of the man whom alone he had chosen to make the confidant of his intended abdication, and who had unexpectedly forestalled him in the execution of the scheme. They were now in circumstances similar, yet different. Both had voluntarily descended from the eminence of their hereditary fortunes. Broken in health and spirits, the emperor was on his way to Yuste, to spend the evening of his days in repose. The duke, on the other hand, in the full vigour of his age, had entered the humblest of religious orders, to begin a new life of the most strenuous toil. In Spain, many a stout soldier died a monk; his own ancestor, the infant Don Pedro of Aragon, had closed a life of camps and councils, in telling his beads amongst the Capuchins of Barcelona.¹ But it was reserved for Borja to leave the high road of ambition, in life's bright noon, for a thorny path, in which the severest asceticism was united with the closest official drudgery, and in which there was no rest but the grave.

Having learned from the count of Oropesa that the

¹ Çurita: *Anales de Aragon*, an. 1358, lib. ix. c. 18.

emperor had been frequently inquiring about him, father Francis the Sinner, for so Borja called himself, arrived at Xarandilla on the seventeenth of December. He was attended by two brothers of the order, father Marcos, and father Bartolomé Bustamente. The latter, an aged priest, who had been secretary to cardinal Tavera, was known to fame as a scholar and as architect of the noble hospital of St. John Baptist, at Toledo, a structure on which the cardinal-archbishop had so lavished his wealth, that his enemies said it would certainly procure him and Bustamente warm places in purgatory.¹ The emperor received Borja with a cordiality which was more foreign to his nature than his habits, but which, on this occasion, was probably sincere. Both he and his Jesuit guest had withdrawn from the pomps and vanities of life; but custom being stronger than reason or faith, their greeting was as ceremonious as if it had been exchanged beneath the canopy of estate at Augsburg or Valladolid. Not only did the priest, lapsing into the ways of the grandee, kneel to kiss the hand of the prince, but he even insisted on remaining upon his knees during the interview. Charles, who addressed him as duke, finally compelled him to assume a less humble attitude, only by refusing to converse with him until he should have taken a chair and put on his hat.²

Borja had been warned, by the princess-regent, say

¹ Salazar de Mendoça: *Chronica del Card. Juan de Tavera*, 4to. Toledo: 1603, p. 310.

² In this portion of my narrative, I have followed Ribadeneira and Nieremberg (*Vidas de P. Borja*, 4to. Madrid: 1592, p. 93; and fol. Madrid, 1644, p. 134), who have, however, fallen into an error, which the MS. of Gonzalez enables me to correct. Both say that Borja first visited the retired emperor at Yuste, and Nieremberg asserts that he came from Alcala de Henares; whereas he came from Plasencia, and paid his visit at Xarandilla. Gonzalez disbelieves their account of the emperor's desire to seduce Borja from the company, and of what passed at the interview, but assigns no reason for his disbelief. The

the Jesuits, that the emperor intended to urge him to pass from the company to the order of St. Jerome. He therefore anticipated his design, by asking leave to give an account of his life since he had made religious profession, and of the reasons which had decided his choice of a habit, 'of which matters,' said he, 'I will speak to your majesty as I would speak to my Maker, who knows that all I am going to say is true.' Leave being granted, he told, at great length, how, having resolved to enter a monastic order, he had prayed and caused many masses to be said for God's guidance in making his election; how, at first, he inclined to the rule of St. Francis, but found that whenever his thoughts went in that direction, he was seized with an unaccountable melancholy: how he turned his eyes to the other orders, one after another, and always with the same gloomy result: how, on the contrary, when last of all, he thought of the company of Jesus, the Lord had filled his soul with peace and joy: how it frequently happened, in the great orders, that monks arrived at higher honour in this life than if they had remained in the world, a risk which he desired by all means to avoid, and which hardly existed in a recent and humble fraternity, still in that furnace of trial through which the others had long ago passed: how the company, embracing in its scheme an active as well as a contemplative life, provided for the spiritual welfare of men of the most

conversation, as reported by Ribadeneira, appears very probable, and his report is so circumstantial, that we may well suppose it to have been drawn up either from Borja's own recital, or from notes found amongst his papers. In the letters of Quixada, in the Gonzalez MS., we are told that Borja was admitted to long audiences of the emperor on the 17th, 21st, and 22nd of December, and we may conjecture that he likewise saw him on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, days on which the mayordomo did not happen to be writing to the secretary of state. Quixada throws no light whatever on the subject of their conversations, and therefore no discredit on Ribadeneira's statement.

opposite characters, and of each man in the various stages of his intellectual being; and lastly, how he had submitted these reasons to several grave and holy fathers of the other orders, and had received their approval and their blessing, ere he took the vows which had now for ten years been the hope and the consolation of his life.

The emperor listened to this long narrative with attention, and expressed his satisfaction at hearing his friend's history from his own lips. 'For,' said he, 'I felt great surprise when I received at Augsburg your letters from Rome, notifying the choice which you had made of a religious brotherhood. And I still think that a man of your weight ought to have entered an order which had been approved by age, rather than this new society, in which no white hairs are found, and which besides, in some quarters, bears but an indifferent reputation.' To this Borja replied, that in all institutions, even in Christianity itself, the purest piety and the noblest zeal were to be looked for near the source; that had he known of any evil in the company, he would never have joined, or would already have left it; and that in respect of white hairs, though it was hard to expect that the children should be old while the parent was still young, even these were not wanting, as might be seen in his companion, the father Bustamente. That ecclesiastic, who had begun his novitiate at the ripe age of sixty, was accordingly called into the presence. The emperor at once recognised him as a priest who had been sent to his court at Naples, soon after the campaign of Tunis, charged with an important mission by cardinal Tavera, primate and governor of Spain.

Three hours of discourse with these able, earnest, and practised champions of Jesuitism had some effect even upon a mind so slow to be convinced as that

of Charles. He hated innovation with the hatred of a king, a devotee, and an old man; and having fought for forty years a losing battle with the terrible monk of Saxony, he looked with suspicion even upon the great orthodox movement led by the soldier of Guipuzcoa. The infant company, although, or perhaps because, in favour at the Vatican, had gained no footing at the imperial court; and as its fame grew, the prelates around the throne, sons or friends of the ancient orders, were more likely to remind their master how its general had once been admonished by the holy office of Toledo, than to dwell on his piety and eloquence, or the splendid success of his missions in the east. In Bobadilla, one of the first followers of Loyola, the emperor had seen something of the fiery zeal of the new society; he had admired him on the field of Muhlberg, severely wounded, yet persisting in carrying temporal and spiritual aid to the wounded and dying; but on the publication of the unfortunate Interim, meant to soothe, but active only to inflame the hate of catholics and reformers, he had been compelled to banish this same good Samaritan from the empire for his virulent attacks upon the new decree.¹ This unexpected opposition strengthened Charles's natural dislike to the company; and he afterwards rewarded with a colonial mitre the blustering Dominican Cano, who announced from the pulpits of Castille the strange tidings that the Jesuits were the precursors of antichrist foretold in the Apocalypse. His new confessor, Fray Juan de Regla, with monkish subserviency and rancour, espoused the same cause, and openly spoke of the company as an apt instrument of Satan or the

¹ Nieremberg: *Vidas de Ig. Loyola y otros hijos de la Compania*, fol. Madrid: 1645, p. 649-50.

great Turk.¹ Latterly, however, the vehement old pope, having frowned on the order as a thing of Spain and perdition, may perhaps have prepared his imperial rival to view it with a more favourable eye. His prejudices, in fact, at last yielded to the earnest and temperate reasonings of his ancient servant and brother-in-arms; and his feelings towards the Jesuits leaned from that time to approval and friendly regard.

The talk of the emperor and his guest sometimes reverted to old days. 'Do you remember,' said Charles, 'how I told you, in 1542, at Monçon, during the holding of the Cortes of Aragon, of my intention of abdicating the throne? I spoke of it to but one person besides.' The Jesuit replied that he had kept the secret truly, but that now he hoped he might mention the mark of confidence with which he had been honoured. 'Yes,' said Charles; 'now that the thing is done, you may say what you will.'

After a visit of five days at Xarandilla, Borja took his leave and returned to Plasencia. The emperor appears usually to have given him audience alone, for no part of their conversations was reported either by the secretary or by the mayordomo. Nor is any notice taken of Borja in their correspondence, beyond the bare mention of his arrival and departure, and of the emperor's remark, that 'the duke was much changed since he first knew him as marquess of Lombay.'

Of the emperor's few intimate friends it happened that one other, Don Luis de Avila y Zuñiga, was now his neighbour in Estremadura. This shrewd politician, lively writer, and crafty courtier, a very different personage from father Francis the Sinner, was no less welcome at Xarandilla. He was one of the most dis-

¹ Nieremberg: *Vida de F. Borja*, p. 173.

tinguished of that remarkable band of soldier-statesmen who shed a lustre round the throne of the Spanish emperor and maintained the honour of the Spanish name for the greater part of the sixteenth century. At the holy see, under Pius the Fourth and Paul the Fourth, he had twice represented his master, and had attempted to urge on the lagging deliberations of the council of Trent; he had served with credit at Tunis; and he commanded the imperial cavalry during the campaigns of 1546 and 1547 in Germany, and at the siege of Metz. These services obtained for him the post of chamberlain, and the emperor's full confidence; and he was also made grand commander, or chief member after the sovereign, of the order of Alcantara. With these honours, and six skulls of the virgins of Cologne, presented to him by the grateful elector, he returned to Plasencia, to share the honours with the wealthy heiress of Fadrique de Zuñiga, marquess of Mirabel, and to place the skulls in the rich Zuñiga chapel in the church of San Vicente.¹ He was now living in laurelled and lettered ease in the fine palace of the Mirabels, which is still one of the chief architectural ornaments of king Alonso's pleasant city.

By his commentaries on the war of the emperor with the Protestants of Germany, Avila earned a high rank amongst the historians of his time. His Castillian was pure and idiomatic; and his style, for clearness and rapidity, was compared by his admirers to that of Cæsar. Besides these literary merits, the book, from the intimate relation existing between the author and the chief actor in the story, was invested with something of an official authority. It was accepted as a record, not merely of what the green-cross knight had seen, but of

¹ A. F. Fernandez: *Historia de Plasencia*, fol. Madrid: 1627, p. 113.

what the catholic emperor wished to be believed. At this time, therefore, it had already passed through several editions,¹ and had been translated into Latin,² Flemish,³ and English,⁴ into Italian⁵ by the author himself, and twice into French, at Antwerp⁶ and at Paris.⁷ In Germany it had created a great sensation; the duke of Bavaria and the count-palatine were enraged beyond measure at the free handling displayed in their portraits by this Spanish master; the diet of Passau presented a formal remonstrance to the emperor against the libels of his chamberlain; and Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, who, by changing sides during the war had peculiarly exposed himself to castigation, proposed that the author should maintain the credit of his pen by the prowess of his sword.⁸ The emperor, however, who approved the history and loved the historian, interposed to soothe the electors, cajole the diet, and forbid the duel; and a duke of Brunswick, some years after, did the obnoxious volume the honour of translating it into German. Pleased with his success, the author was probably employing his leisure at Plasencia in composing those commentaries on the war in Africa which, though perused and praised by Sepulveda, have not yet been given to the press.

His first visit to the emperor was paid on the twenty-

¹ It appeared, says Nic. Antonio, first in Spain (without mentioning any town) in 1546, and again in 1547.

² By Van Male. See p. 53.

³ In 8vo (Steels): Antwerp, 1550.

⁴ *The Comentaries of Don Lewes de Arila and Suniga, great Master of Acanter, which treateth of the great wars in Germanie, made by Charles the Fifth, maxime Emperoure of Rome, &c.* Sm. 8vo. London: 1555 (Black letter). The translator was John Wilkinson.

⁵ In 12mo. Venice: 1549.

⁶ By Mat. Vaulchier. 8vo. 1550.

⁷ By G. Boilleau de Buillon. 1550.

⁸ R. Ascham: *Discourse of Germany and the Emperor Charles his Court.* 4to: London (Black letter): N. D. fol. 14.

first of January, 1557. He spent the night at Xarandilla, and returned home next day. Some weeks before, on the sixth of December, his father-in-law, the marquess of Mirabel, had likewise been graciously received. Early in January, the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Plasencia sent excuses for not paying their respects, both prelates pleading the infirm state of their health. The primate was the cardinal Juan Martinez Siliceo, to whom, eleven years before, the emperor had given that splendid mitre, not quite in accordance, it was said, with his own wish, but at the request of his son Philip, whose tutor the fortunate cardinal had been. The bishop of Plasencia was Don Gutierre de Carvajal, a magnificent prelate, who shared the emperor's tastes and gout. He was the builder of the fine Gothic chapel attached to the church of St. Andrew at Madrid; and his coat of arms, *or, with bend sable*, commemorated on wall or portal his various architectural embellishments in all parts of his diocese.¹ Charles received the excuses of both prelates with perfect good humour, entreating them not to put themselves to any inconvenience on his account, and remarking to Quixada, that neither of them were persons much to his liking.

Until the close of the year 1556, the emperor had enjoyed, what was for him remarkably good health and spirits. In the latter weeks of the year he had been able to devote two hours a day to his accounts, and to reckoning with Luis Quixada the sums due to the servants whom he was about to discharge. When the weather was fine, he used to go out with his fowling-piece, and even walked at a tolerably brisk pace. His chief annoyance was the state of his fingers, which were

¹ P. de Salazar: *Chronica de el Card. D. Juan de Tavera*, 4to. Toledo: 1603, p. 355. A. Fernandez: *Historia de Plasencia*, p. 191.

so much swollen and disabled by gout, that he remarked, on receiving from the duchess of Frias a present of a chased silver saucepan and a packet of perfumed gloves, 'If she sends gloves, she had better also send hands to wear them on.' But on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of December, he felt several twinges of gout in his knees and shoulders, and kept his bed for a week, lying in considerable pain, and wrapped in one of his eider-down robes, beneath a thick quilted covering. For some days he was entirely deprived of the use of his right arm, and could neither raise a cup to his lips, nor wipe his mouth. Nevertheless, his appetite continued keen; and he one day paid the wife of Quixada the compliment of committing an excess upon sausages and olives, which the good lady had sent to him from Villagarcia. As the attack subsided, he complained of a sore throat, which made it difficult for him to swallow, an inconvenience which the mayordomo did not much deplore, saying sententiously, 'Shut your mouth, and the gout will get well.'¹

Barley-water, with yolks of eggs, formed his frequent refreshment in his illness, and his medicine was given in the shape of pills and senna-wine. This beverage was one which he had long used, and about the concoction of which very precise directions had been transmitted in the autumn, from Flanders, to the secretary of state. A quantity of the 'best senna-leaves of Alexandria' were to be steeped, in the proportion of about a pound to a gallon, in a jar of good light wine, for three or four months; the liquor was then to be poured off into a fresh jar; and after standing for a year, it was fit for use. The white wine of Yepes was mentioned as the best for the purpose; but the selection was left to the general of

¹ 'La gota se cura tapando la boca.'

the Jeromites, an order famous for its choice cellars. The emperor asked likewise for manna, and there being none amongst the doctor's stores, he ordered some to be procured from Naples, observing, at the same time, that no supply had been sent since his abdication—the single trivial incident and remark which lend support to the common story that the change in his position had made a change in the attention with which he was treated.

On the sixth of January, though still in bed, he was able to see Lorenzo Pires, the Portuguese envoy, on the affairs of the infanta; when he also expressed his hearty approval of king John's choice of the good Aleixo de Menezes as governor of their grandson, Don Sebastian.¹ On the seventh he got up, complaining only at intervals of a heat in his legs, which were relieved by being bathed with vinegar and water. In spite of his omelettes of sardines, and the beer which no medical warnings could induce him to forego, he was soon restored to his usual health.

Despatches now came in from Italy, announcing the truce of forty days, which the duke of Alba had made with the pope and his nephew, after driving the papal troops out of the town and citadel of Ostia. The emperor was very angry that he had not pushed on to Rome, and would not listen to the conditions of the truce, but kept muttering between his teeth his fears of the approach of the French from Piedmont. He afterwards wrote to the king, expressing the greatest displeasure at the conduct of Alba, who, he feared, had suffered himself to be bribed by the concession of certain patronage enjoyed by the pope in the duke's marquessate of Coria. The conditions of the truce

¹ Menezes: *Chronica*, p. 63.

despatched to Flanders by Alba, were not ratified by the king, and the war recommenced early in 1557.

Some days later, on the thirty-first of January, the emperor addressed a very earnest and anxious letter to the princess-regent on the alarming aspect of affairs both in Flanders and the Mediterranean, urging her to use all diligence in raising men and money to carry on the wars, and especially to provide for the defence of Oran, which was then threatened by the Moors. 'If Oran be lost,' he wrote, 'I hope I shall not be in Spain or the Indies, but in some place where I shall not hear of so great an affront to the king, and disaster to these realms.' On the second of February, he again entreated the princess to keep a watchful eye on the frontiers of Navarre, and remarked that it was a pity the king should have ordered the duke of Alburquerque to England at a time when the probable movements of the French forces rendered his presence of so much importance in that viceroyalty. In consequence of this remonstrance, the duke was suffered to remain at Pamplona, to foil any attempts at violent resumption of the kingdom by the court of Pau.

Meanwhile the long-delayed buildings at Yuste had almost arrived at a conclusion. Their slow progress had caused the emperor repeated disappointments. So far back as the sixteenth of December he was so confident of being able to quit Xarandilla that the post was detained beyond the usual time, that the removal to the convent might be announced at Valladolid. His departure was still further postponed by his illness; and the fathers of Yuste began to despair of his ever coming to them at all. On the twenty-first of January, a remittance of money arriving from court, Quixada began to pay the servants their wages; and on the twenty-third, he went over to Yuste to make a final

inspection, and to look for a house for himself in the village of Quacos. On the twenty-fifth, Monsieur d'Aubremont, one of the chamberlains, took his leave of the emperor, who bade him farewell very graciously, and presented him with letters to the king, and set forth on his return to Flanders, with his private train of twelve servants. On the twenty-sixth, all claims against the privy purse were settled, and by the end of the month the new household was definitely formed, on a reduced scale. The emperor at first wished to discharge many more of his followers than Quixada thought could be dispensed with; and it was finally resolved to send back ninety-eight to Flanders free of cost, and to transfer about fifty-two to Yuste. The lieutenant and his halberdiers were dismissed, and also the alguazils, with the alcalde Durango, to whom the emperor presented the horses for which he had no further use. Thirty mules were sent away to Valladolid; and eight mules, a small one-eyed horse, two litters, and a hand-chair, were reserved for the reduced stable establishment of the emperor.

All was ready at Xarandilla for departure on the first of February. But at the last moment it was found that the friars, who had undertaken to lay in provisions for the first day's consumption at Yuste, had provided nothing at all. The business, therefore, devolved on Quixada, and the removal was postponed for two days more. After dinner on the third, the emperor received all the servants who were going away, saying a kind word to each as he was presented by the mayordomo. 'His majesty,' wrote Quixada, 'was in excellent health and spirits, which was more than could be said of the poor people whom he was dismissing.' All of them, he said, had received letters of recommendation; but it was a sad sight, this breaking up of so old a company

of retainers; and he hoped the secretary of state would do what he could for those who went to Valladolid, not forgetting the others who remained in Estremadura. At three o'clock the emperor was placed in his litter, and the count of Oropesa and the attendants mounted their horses; and, crossing the leafless forest, in two hours the cavalcade halted at the gates of Yuste.

There the prior was waiting to receive his imperial guest, who, on alighting, was placed in a chair and carried to the door of the church. At the threshold he was met by the whole brotherhood in procession, chanting the Te Deum to the music of the organ. The altars and the aisle were brilliantly lighted up with tapers, and decked with their richest frontals, hangings, and plate. Borne through the pomp to the steps of the high altar, Charles knelt down and returned thanks to God for the happy termination of his journey, and joined in the vesper service of the feast of St. Blas. This ended, the prior stepped forward with a congratulatory speech, in which, to the scandal of the courtiers, he addressed the emperor as 'your paternity,' until some friar, with more presence of mind and etiquette, whispered that the proper style was 'majesty.' The orator next presented his friars to their new brother, each kissing his hand and receiving his fraternal embrace. During this ceremony the retiring retainers, who had all of them attended their master to his journey's close, stood round, expressing their emotion by tears and lamentations, which were still heard, late in the evening, round the gate. Attended by Oropesa and conducted by the prior, the emperor then made an inspection of the convent, and finally retired to sup in his new home, and enjoy the repose which had so long been the dream of his life.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. JEROME OF YUSTE.

THE Spanish order of St. Jerome was an offshoot from the great Italian order of St. Francis of Assisi. St. Bridget, a princess of Sweden, who, anticipating queen Christina by three centuries, had taken up her abode at Rome, foretold that there would soon arise in Spain a society of recluses to tread in the footsteps of the great doctor of Bethlehem. The very next year, in 1374, two hermits who had been living a Franciscan life in the mountains of Toledo, presented themselves at Avignon, and kneeling at the feet of Gregory the Eleventh, obtained the institution of the order of St. Jerome. The first monastery, San Bartolomè of Lupiana, was built by the hands of the first prior and his monks, on the north side of a bleak hill, near Guadaluara, in Old Castille. From this highland nest the new religion spread its austere swarms far and wide over Spain. Its houses, humble indeed at first, arose in the Vega of Toledo, and in the pine-forest of Guisando; a devout duke of Gandia planted another in the better land of Valencia; and in pastoral Estremadura, ere the fourteenth century closed, the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe—which rivalled Loretto itself in miracles, in pilgrims, and in wealth—was committed to the keeping of a colony from Lupiana. Each year the new habit—a white woollen tunic, girt with leather, and a brown woollen scapulary and mantle, of which the fashion and

material had been revealed to St. Bridget and consecrated by the use of St. Jerome and of the blessed Mary herself—became more familiar and more favoured in city and hamlet, among the motley liveries of the church. At Madrid and Segovia, at Seville and Valladolid, stately cloisters and noble churches, in the beautiful pointed architecture of the fifteenth century, were built for St. Jerome and his flock. A Jeromite monastery was one of the first works undertaken at Granada by the Catholic conquerors, and a Jeromite friar was enthroned as the first archbishop in the purified mosque. The completion of the superb cloister of St. Engracia, begun by Ferdinand for the Jeromites of Zaragoza, was the first architectural work of Charles the Fifth on taking possession of his Spanish kingdoms. On the Tagus, the Jeromite convent of Belem, the burial-place of the royal line of Avis, and a miracle of jewellery in stone, is one of the few surviving glories of Don Emanuel. The town-like vastness of Guadalupe, its fortifications, treasure-tower, and cellars, its orange-gardens, and cedar-groves, and its princely domains, astonished a far-travelled and somewhat cynical magnifico of Venice¹ into a tribute of hearty admiration. In Spain its wealth and importance has passed into a proverb, which thus pointed out the path of preferment,

He who is a count, and to be a duke aspires,
Let him straight to Guadalupe, and sing among the friars.²

The order reached the climax of its greatness when its monks were installed by Philip the Second in the palace convent of San Lorenzo of the Escorial.

¹ Navagiero : *Viaggio fatto in Spagna*. sm. 8vo. Vinegia: 1563, pp. 11-12.

² Quien es conde, y dessea ser duque,
Metase fraile en Guadalupe.
Hern Nunez : *Refranes*, fol. Salamanca, 1555, fol. 106.

The Escorial and Guadalupe, his houses, lands, and flocks, were the best endowments of the Jeromite. He could rarely boast of such eloquence and learning as sometimes lay beneath the white robe of the Dominican preacher, or the inky cloak of the bookish Benedictine. In his schools, he was taught no philosophy but that of Thomas Aquinas; and even if he did not wholly lack Latin, he was altogether guiltless of that Cicero-worship for which St. Jerome, in his memorable dream, was flogged by seraphim before the judgment-seat of heaven. But to none of his rivals, white, black, or grey, did he yield in the rigour of his religious observance, in the splendour of his services, in the munificence of his alms, and in the abundant hospitality of his table. In his convents, eight hours always, and on days of festival, twelve hours out of the twenty-four were devoted to sacred offices; and the prior of the Escorial challenged comparison between the ordinary service of his church and the holyday pomp of the greatest cathedrals of Spain. In houses like Guadalupe, large hospitals were maintained for the sick, vast quantities of food were daily dispensed to the poor, and the refectory-boards were spread, sometimes as often as seven times a day, for the guests of all ranks who came in crowds to dine with St. Jerome.

The order early planted its standard in the Vera of Plasencia; choosing for its camp one of the sweetest spots of the sweet valley. Yuste stands on its northern side, and near its eastern end, about two leagues west of Xarandilla, and seven leagues east of Plasencia. The site is a piece of somewhat level ground, on the lower slope of the mountain, which is clothed, as far as the eye can reach, with woods of venerable oak and chestnut. About an English mile to the south, and lower down the hill, the village of Quacos nestles unseen amongst its orchards and mulberry gardens. The monastery owes its name,

not to a saint, but to a streamlet¹ which descends from the sierra behind its walls, and its origin, to the piety of one Sancho Martin of Quacos, who granted, in 1402, a tract of forest land to two hermits from Plasencia. Here these holy men built their cells, and planted an orchard; and obtained, in 1408, by the favour of the infant Don Fernando, a bull, authorizing them to found a religious house of the order of St. Jerome. In spite, however, of this authority, while their works were still in progress, the friars of a neighbouring convent, armed with an order from the bishop of Plasencia, set upon them, and dispossessed them of their land and unfinished walls, an act of violence, against which the Jeromites appealed to the archbishop of Santiago. The judgment of the primate being given in their favour, they next applied for aid to their neighbour, Garci Alvarez de Toledo, lord of Oropesa, who accordingly came forth from his castle of Xarandilla, with his azure and argent banner, and drove out the intruders. Nor was it only with the strong hand that this noble protected the new community; for at the chapter of St. Jerome, held at Guadalupe in 1415, their house would not have been received into the order, but for his generosity in guaranteeing a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of a prior and twelve brethren, under a rule in which mendicancy was forbidden. The buildings were also erected mainly at his cost, and his subsequent benefactions were munificent and many. He was therefore constituted, by the grateful monks, protector of the convent, and the distinction became hereditary in his descendants, the counts of Oropesa.

¹ Siguença: *Hist. de S. Geronimo*. Parte ii. p. 191. Some Spanish writers, and almost all foreign writers, have called it San Yuste, or St. Just, or St. Justus, as if the place had been called after one of the three saints of that name, of Alcalá, Lyons, or Canterbury.

These early struggles past, the Jeromites of Yuste grew and prospered. Gifts and bequests were the chief events in their peaceful annals. They became patrons of chapelries and hermitages; they made them orchards and olive groves; and their corn and wine increased. The hostel, dispensary, and other offices of their convent, were patterns of monastic comfort and order; and in due time they built a new church, a simple, solid, and spacious structure, in the pointed style. A few years before the emperor came to dwell amongst them, they had added to their small antique cloister a new quadrangle of stately proportions, and of the elegant classical architecture which Berruguete had recently introduced into Castille.

Although more remarkable for the natural beauty which smiled around its walls, than for any growth of spiritual grace within them, Yuste did not fail to boast of its worthies. Early in the sixteenth century one of its sons, Fray Pedro de Bejar, was chosen general of the order, and was remarkable for the vigour of his administration and the boldness and efficacy of his reforms. The prior Geronimo de Plasencia, a scion of the great house of Zuñiga, was cited as a model of austere and active holiness. The lay brother Melchor de Yepes, after twice deserting the convent to become a soldier, being crippled in felling a huge chestnut-tree in the forest, became for the remainder of his days a pattern of bedridden patience and piety. Fray Juan de Xeres, an old soldier of the great captain, was distinguished by the gift of second sight, and was nursed upon his death-bed by the eleven thousand virgins. Still more favoured was Fray Rodrigo de Caçeres, for the blessed Mary herself, in answer to his repeated prayers, came down in visible beauty and glory, and received his spirit on the eve of the feast of her assumption. The pulpit popularity

of the prior, Diego de San Geronimo, a son of the old Castillian line of Tovar, was long remembered in the Vera, in the names of a road leading to Garganta la Olla, and of a bridge near Xaraiz, constructed, when he grew old and infirm, by the people of these places, to smooth the path of their favourite preacher to their village pulpits.¹

The fraternity now numbered amongst its members a certain Fray Alonso Mudarra, who had been in the world a man of rank, and employed in the civil service of the emperor. Fray Hernando de Corral was the man of letters of the band; and it was perhaps partly on account of this strange taste, that those who did not think him a saint considered him a fool. The tallest and brawniest of the brotherhood, his great strength was equalled by his love of using it; and whenever there was any hard or rough work to be done, he took it as an affront if he was not called to do it. Amongst his other eccentricities, were noted his not returning to bed after early matins, but roaming through the cloisters, praying aloud, and telling his beads; his buying, begging, and reading every book that came in his way; and the want of due regard for the refectory-cheer, which he sometimes evinced by dividing amongst beggars at the gate the entire contents of the conventual larder. He was also particularly fond of the choral service, and careful in compelling the attendance of his brethren; and, observing that the vicar chose frequently to absent himself from this duty, he one day left his stall, and returned with the truant, like the lost sheep in the parable, struggling in his stalwart arms. The greater part of his leisure being spent in reading, he was consulted by the whole convent as an oracle of knowledge; and

¹ A. Fernandez, *Hist. de Plasencia*, p. 196.

he likewise was supposed to be frequently visited in his cell by the spirits of the departed. He wrote much, it is said, but on what subjects, or with what degree of merit, no evidence remains. The black letter folios in the library of the convent were frequently enriched with his notes, and of these a few have survived the neglect of three centuries, and the violence of three revolutions.¹

Such were the friars of Yuste whose names have survived in the records of the order; but there was one among them who likewise belongs to the nobler history of art. Fray Antonio de Villacastin was born, about 1512, of humble parents, in the small town of Castille, whence, according to Jeromite usage, he borrowed his name. Early left an orphan, he was brought up, or rather suffered to grow up, in the house of an uncle, without prospect of future provision, and without any preparation for gaining his bread except a slight knowledge of reading and writing. When about seventeen years old, being sent one day with a jug and a real to fetch some wine, the necessity of seeking his fortune struck him so forcibly as he walked along, that by the time his errand was done, his mind was made up. Meeting his sister in the street, he handed her the jug and the copper change, and taking the road at once, begged his way to Toledo, where he slept for the first night under the market tables in the square of Zocodover. He was found there next morning by a master tiler, who, pitying his forlorn condition, took him home, and

¹ In the fine and curious Spanish library of Mr. Ford, there is a copy of the *Chronica del Rey D. Alonzo el Onçeno*, fol. Valladolid: 1551, which has the following entry on the back of the last leaf: *En reinte y dos de Mayo del año de m.d.lii. (1) compre yo frai Hernando de Corral este libro en trugillo costome xx reales.* He then goes on to state the dates of the emperor's arrival at the convent and death, and of the deaths of queen Eleanor of France and queen Mary of Hungary.

taught him his trade of making wainscots and pavements of coloured tiles, at which he wrought for ten years for his food and clothing. At the end of this long apprenticeship, becoming enamoured of the monastic state, he begged a real—the only one he ever possessed—from his master's son, and entered the Jeromite convent at La Sisle, without the walls of Toledo. In assuming the cowl, however, he by no means laid aside the trowel, which was ever in his hand when the house stood in need of repair. Being a master of the practical part of building, he was also frequently employed in other monasteries of the order. In the Toledan nunnery of San Pablo, the operations were so extensive that he was at work there for several years; and his biographer mentions, in his praise, that when his duties ended he maintained no connexion with the nuns, 'nor ever received any billets from them, a snare from which a friar so placed seldom escapes.'¹ His architectural reputation, after fifteen or sixteen years' practice in the cloister, stood so high, that the general Ortega selected him, in 1554, as master of the works at Yuste, which he had now completed to the entire satisfaction of the emperor. In these secular occupations he strengthened and improved the secular virtues of good temper and good sense, and yet maintained a high character for zeal and punctuality in the religious business of his cloth; unconscious that he was training himself for one of the most important posts ever filled in the world of art by a Spanish monk—that of master and surveyor of the works at the palace-monastery of the Escorial.

Fray Juan de Ortega, late general of the order,² continued to reside with the fraternity of Yuste, although

¹ Sigüenza: *Hist. de la orden de S. Geron.* P. iii., p. 893.

² Chap. ii., p. 34.

he still remained a member of his own convent at Alba de Tormes. In intelligence and manners he was greatly above the vulgar herd of friars, and was much esteemed and trusted by the emperor, and even by his monk-hating household.

In works of charity, that redeeming virtue of the monastic system, the fathers of Yuste were diligent and bounteous. Of wheat, six hundred fanegas, or about one hundred and twenty quarters, in ordinary years, and in years of scarcity sometimes as much as fifteen hundred fanegas, or three hundred quarters, were distributed at the convent-gate; large donations of bread, meat, oil, and a little money, were given, publicly or in private, by the prior, at Easter, Christmas, and other festivals; and the sick poor in the village of Quacos were freely supplied with food, medicine, and advice.

The emperor's house, or palace, as the friars loved to call it, although many a country notary is now more splendidly lodged, was more deserving of the approbation accorded to it by the monarch, than of the abuse lavished upon it by his chamberlain. Backed by the massive south wall of the church, the building presented a simple front of two stories to the garden and the noontide sun. Each story contained four chambers, two on either side of a corridor, which traversed the structure from east to west, and led at either end into a broad porch, or covered gallery, supported by pillars and open to the air. Each room was furnished with an ample fireplace, in accordance with the Flemish wants and ways of the chilly invalid. The chambers looking upon the garden were bright and pleasant, but those on the north side were gloomy, and even dark, the light being admitted to them only by windows opening on the corridor, or on the external and deeply shadowed porches. Charles inhabited the upper rooms, and slept

in that at the north-east corner, from which a door, or window, had been cut in a slanting direction into the church, through the chancel wall, and close to the high altar. The shape of this opening appears to have been altered after the strictures passed on it by Quixada, for it now affords a good view of the space where the high altar once stood. The emperor's cabinet, in which he transacted business, was on the opposite side of the corridor, and looked upon the garden. From its window, his eye ranged over a cluster of rounded knolls, clad in walnut and chestnut, in which the mountain dies gently away into the broad bosom of the Vera. Not a building was in sight, except a summer-house peering above the mulberry tops at the lower end of the garden, and a hermitage of Our Lady of Solitude, about a mile distant, hung upon a rocky height, which rose like an isle out of the sea of forest. Immediately below the windows the garden sloped gently to the Vera, shaded here and there with the massive foliage of the fig, or the feathery boughs of the almond, and breathing perfume from tall orange-trees, cuttings of which some of the friars, themselves transplanted, in after days vainly strove to keep alive at the bleak Escorial. The garden was easily reached from the western porch or gallery by an inclined path, which had been constructed to save the gouty monarch the pain and fatigue of going up and down stairs. This porch, which was much more spacious than the eastern, was his favourite seat when filled with the warmth of the declining day. Commanding the same view as the cabinet, it looked also upon a small parterre with a fountain in the centre, and a short cypress-alley leading to the principal gate of the garden. Beyond this gate and wall was the luxuriant forest; a wide space in front of the convent being covered by the shade of a magnificent walnut-tree, even then known as

the great walnut-tree of Yuste, a Nestor of the woods which has seen the hermit's cell rise into a royal convent and sink into a ruin, and has survived the Spanish order of Jerome, and the Austrian dynasty of Spain.

The emperor's attendants were lodged in apartments built for them near the new cloister, and in the lower rooms of that cloister; and the hostel of the convent was given up to the physician, the bakers, and the brewers. The remainder of the household were disposed of in the village of Quacos. The emperor's private rooms being surrounded on three sides by the garden of the convent, that was resigned to his exclusive possession, and put under the care of his own gardeners. The ground near the windows was planted with flowers, under the citron-trees; and further off, between the shaded paths which led to the summer-house, vegetables were cultivated for his table, which was likewise supplied with milk from a couple of cows that pastured in the forest. The Jeromites removed their pot-herbs to a piece of ground to the eastward, behind some tall elms and the wall of the imperial domain. The entrances to the palace and its dependencies were quite distinct from those which led to the monastery; and all internal communications between the region of the friars and the settlement of the Flemings were carefully closed or built up.

The household of the emperor consisted in all of about sixty persons. His confidential attendants, who composed his 'chamber,' as it was called, stand thus marshalled in his will, doubtless in the exact order of their precedence, and with the annexed salaries attached to their names.

Luis Quixada . . .	{ Chamberlain (<i>mayor-</i> <i>domo</i>)	{ 189,000 maravedis, or £54.
Henrique Mathys . . .	{ Physician	
Guyon de Moron. . .	{ Keeper of the ward- robe (<i>guardaropa</i>), }	{ 400 florins, or £40.

Martin de Gaztelu . . .	Secretary	{	150,000 maravedis, or £43.
William Van Male . . .	Gentlemen of the chamber, (<i>ayudas</i> <i>de camara</i>)	{	300 florins, or £30.
Charles Prevost ¹ . . .			300 " or £30.
Ogier Bodart ² . . .			200 " or £20.
Martin Donjart . . .			300 " or £30.
Giovanni Torriano . . .	Watchmaker	{	75,000 maravedis. or £21 10s.
Nicholas Beringuen . . .	Gentlemen of the chamber of the se- cond class, (<i>bar-</i> <i>beros</i>).	{	each 250 florins, or £25.
William Wykerslooth . . .			
Dirk _____ . . .			
Gabriel De Suet . . .			
Peter Van Oberstraaten,	Apothecary		280 florins, or £28.
Peter Guillen	Assistant-apothecary,		80 " or £8.

The salary of Quixada, on returning to his post in 1556, was to be raised, and he himself had been asked to name the amount of increase, which, however, he declined to do, leaving the matter entirely in the hands of his master. Charles, who was the most frugal of men, was at this time in correspondence with the king and the secretary of state on the subject; and in one of his subsequent letters,³ it appears that he considered the mayordomo's rank entitled him to the same salary as that which had been enjoyed by the chamberlain of queen Juana, or that which was still paid to the tutor of Don Carlos. Nevertheless, the question remained unsettled, and it was one of the points to be arranged by Archbishop Carranza, who, however, did not arrive at Yuste, until the emperor's accounts with the world were on the eve of being closed.

Quixada, Moron, Gaztelu, and Torriano, lived at

¹ The spelling of these Flemish names, both in the printed pages of Sandoval and the MS. of Gonzalez is most inaccurate and perplexing. 'Prevost' is, in many cases, turned into *Pubest*, Dirk is *Chirique*, and others are disguised beyond the powers of detection of any one but a Fleming. Even the Italian Torriano, whose name, in its Spanish familiar form, was Juanelo Torriano, sometimes figures as *Juan el Lotoriano*. In turning the maravedis and florins into English money, I have been guided chiefly by Josef Garcia Cavallero: *Breve Cotejo y Valance de las pesas y medidas de varias naciones*, 4to. Madrid: 1731.

² No doubt the person alluded to in chap. iii., p. 50, note as Bodoarte.

³ Gaztelu to Vazquez, twenty-fourth of August, 1587.

Quacos, where lodgings were likewise provided for the laundresses, the only female portion of the household, and many of the inferior servants. So many of them being Flemings, a Flemish capuchin, Fray John Alis, was established at Xarandilla for the convenience of those who wished to confess.

On the fourth of February, the emperor awoke in his new home, in excellent health and spirits. He spent the morning in inspecting the rooms, and the arrangement of the furniture; and in the afternoon, he caused himself to be carried in his chair to the hermitage of Belem, about a quarter of a mile from the monastery. The physicians Cornelio and Mole, who were still in attendance, walked out to botanize in the woods, in search of certain specifics against hemorrhoids, with which their patient had been troubled. Not finding them, Cornelio went to look for them at Plasencia, and finally was obliged to procure a supply from Valladolid. Meanwhile the symptoms of the disease abated so much, that when, in about a fortnight, the plants arrived, the emperor ordered them to be planted in the garden, and even dispensed with the attendance of the consulting doctors, dismissing them with all courtesy, and letters to the princess-regent.

A great monarch, leaving of his own free will his palace and the purple for sackcloth and a cell, is so fine a study, that history, misled, nothing loath, by pulpit declamation, has delighted to discover such a model ascetic in the emperor at Yuste. 'His apartments, when prepared for his reception,' says Sandoval, 'seemed rather to have been newly pillaged by the enemy, than for a great prince; the walls were bare, except in his bed-chamber, which was hung with black cloth; the only valuables in the house were a few pieces of plate of the plainest kind; his dress, always black, was usually

very old; and he sat in an old arm chair, with but half a seat, and not worth four reals.¹ This picture, accurate in only two of the details, is quite false in its general effect. The emperor's conventual abode, judging by the inventory of its contents,² was probably not worse furnished than many of the palaces in which his reigning days had been passed. He was not surrounded at Yuste with the splendours of his host of Augsburg; but neither did the fashions of the sumptuous Fugger prevail at Ghent or Innsbruck, Valsain or Segovia. For the hangings of his bed-room he preferred sombre black cloth to gayer arras; but he had brought from Flanders suits of rich tapestry, wrought with figures, landscapes, or flowers, more than sufficient to hang the rest of the apartments; the supply of cushions, eider-down quilts, and linen, was luxuriously ample; his friends sat on chairs covered with black velvet; and he himself reposed either on a chair with wheels, or in an easy chair to which six cushions and a footstool belonged. Of gold and silver plate, he had upwards of thirteen thousand ounces; he washed his hands in silver basins with water poured from silver ewers; the meanest utensil of his chamber was of the same noble material; and from the brief descriptions of his cups, vases, candlesticks, and salt-cellers, it seems probable that his table was graced with several masterpieces of Tobbia and Cellini.

In his dress he had ever been plain to parsimony,

¹ Sandoval, tom. ii. p. 825. Wilhelm Snouckaert, who had been the emperor's librarian at Brussels, and who, under the more euphonious name of Zenocarus, wrote *De republica vita, &c. Cæs. Aug. Quinti Caroli max monarchæ*, fol. 1559, says (p. 289) that Charles had only twelve servants at Yuste. Yet he asserts (p. 288) that his dull, meagre, and pompous book had been seen and approved by Don Luis de Avila. Cesare Campana, in his *Vita de Catholico Don Filippo de Austria*, 3 vols. 4to, (Vicenza: 1605,) part ii. fol. 151, reduces this slender retinue to four.

² Drawn up after his decease, by Quixada, Gaztelu, and Regla. An abstract of the document will be found in the Appendix.

and therefore it was not very likely that he should turn dandy in the cloister. His suit of sober black was no doubt the same, or such another, as that painted by Titian in the fine portrait wherein the emperor still sits before us, pale, thoughtful, and dignified, in the Belvidere palace at Vienna; and he probably often gave audience in such a 'gowne of black taffety and furred nightcap, like a great codpiece,' as Roger Ascham saw him in, 'sitting sick in his chamber' at Augsburg, and looking so like Roger's friend, 'the parson of Epurstone.'¹ In his soldier-days he would knot and patch a broken sword belt, until it would have disgraced a private trooper;² and he even carried his love of petty economy so far, that being caught near Naumburg in a shower, he took off his velvet cap, which happened to be new, and sheltered it under his arm, going bareheaded in the rain until an old cap was brought him from the town.³ His jewel-case was, as might be supposed, rather miscellaneous than valuable in its contents, amongst which may be mentioned a few rings and bracelets, some medals and buttons to be worn in the cap, several collars and badges of various sizes of the Golden Fleece,⁴ some crucifixes of gold and silver, various charms, such as the

¹ *Eng. Works*, p. 375.

² Salazar de Mendoza: *Origen de las dignidades de Castilla*, fol. Toledo: 1618, p. 161.

³ Ranke: *Ottoman and Spanish Empires*. Kelly's translation. 8vo. London: 1843, p. 30.

⁴ The collar of this order, given by Ferdinand VII. to the late duke of Wellington, was believed in Spain to have belonged to Charles V.; and the same story was told of the Fleece sent, in 1851 or 1852, to the president, now '*par la grâce de Dieu et la volonté nationale*,' emperor Napoleon III., of France. It is a compliment which the Spanish crown very likely has it in its power to pay; as the emperor in the course of his life must have possessed many badges of the order. In our duke's case, the collar and badge may have been authentic; but the connecting ornament, as figured in Lord Downes's *Orders and Batons of the D. of Wellington*, obl. fol.: London, 1852, is plainly modern and spurious. No such ornament is found on the medals or contemporary prints of Charles V.